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In summary, I believe that a partnership should be established between the Federal Government and private insurance in the health insurance field. If it is brought into existence we will have at long last moved from the "talk" stage into the "action" stage in dealing with the problem of meeting the health and medical needs of the aged.

I recognize, of course, that even if this partnership is formed there will be a percentage of the aged whose needs will have to be met through public welfare programs. I favor the Federal Government providing generous support to the States in connection with their programs for providing medical care for persons receiving old-age assistance. I favor the Kerr-Mills law which makes it possible for the States to receive generous support from the Federal Government if they decide to help persons 65 years of age and over who are not receiving old-age assistance but whose income and other resources are not sufficient to meet their medical expenses.

But these are public assistance programs. They are not substitute for an adequate public and private insurance program to care for the health and medical costs of the aged. Our fellow citizens do not want to sit around and wait for sickness to develop and then have their bills met through public assistance programs. They want to participate in insurance programs that will assure their ability to maintain their independence in dealing with the costs of health and medical care. The time has come to give them the opportunity of participating in such programs. We insult them when we tell them that they needn't worry but that we will take care of them under old-age assistance or the Kerr-Mills program.

Let's not take pride in our ability to add aged persons to public assistance rolls because they are medically indigent. Rather let us insist on the Congress taking action that will provide our people with both public and private insurance programs under which they will have earned benefits that will safeguard them in their old age and keep them off public assistance rolls. This is the only kind of a program that is consistent with our Nation's dedication to the concept of the dignity and worth of each human being.

Closed Door to Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1963

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch commenting on the refusal of the South Vietnamese Government to grant a visa to Mr. Richard Dudman, a reporter for the Post-Dispatch:

CLOSED DOOR TO VIETNAM

Refusal of the South Vietnamese Embassy in Washington to grant a visa to a reporter for the Post-Dispatch is a sharp indictment of the regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem. The reporter, Richard Dudman, visited Saigon a year ago and had been assigned to return to report further on that crisis-ridden corner of southeast Asia.

But Mr. Dudman was told by the Embassy that his application had been rejected on instructions from Vietnam. He was told further that last March, shortly after his articles were published in this newspaper, he was declared persona non grata by the regime, and his name placed on a blacklist

of persons to be denied entrance to South Vietnam. Embassy officials refused to disclose further information about the blacklist.

Why was the visa denied? The Vietnamese gave no reason, but obviously they were angered by some of Mr. Dudman's dispatches which, while temperate and objective, stated facts the Diem Government did not want to have published. But what Mr. Dudman said last February about the unpopularity of the repressive Diem family nepotarchy, and the problems of bringing democracy to Saigon and winning the war against the Communist guerrillas, has been amply supported by what has transpired in the last 8 months.

So Mr. Dudman (and by extension every other reputable American reporter) is being penalized for telling the truth, and this by a regime that could not exist 5 minutes if the United States cut off aid. The State Department could do no less than note that "one of the vital elements in Vietnam is the ability of newsmen to be there and to move in and out of the country and to report what is going on."

Mr. Dudman is not the only reporter to feel the displeasure of the Saigon autocrats, particularly that of Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, Diem's sister-in-law. Reporters in Saigon have had a fierce struggle to pry the truth out and relay it to the American people. By and large they have done a splendid job in the face of great obstacles, most of them placed in their way by the regime. What we know of the wretched state of affairs in Vietnam we know through the efforts of reporters like Mr. Dudman. No wonder he is unwelcome in Saigon.

Politics as Usual

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 24, 1963

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, for several years now controversy has raged over the possible location of expanding governmental activities in the field of environmental health. The southwestern Ohio area and the city of Cincinnati, where the Federal Government has for a long time been conducting and has recently been expanding its work in Ohio, important fields of environmental health nationally, naturally have a major interest in keeping this activity in the area and encouraging it there. The personnel and facilities for expanding this work in the area are unparalleled, and the only excuses seriously offered for failing to expand in this area are either political in nature or center around the fact that those in the Federal Civil Service feel they may be bypassed and are out of the swim if they are not in the Washington area. If this is so, it should certainly be corrected.

With regard to recent developments and pressure put on from high Government sources for one location or another, it has become clear that the hand of the White House is interfering in what should be a policy decision recommended by the experts in the area and approved by the Congress. The longer the present administration stays in power, the more we hear of political considerations in such decisions. But

when these political considerations override the public interests, it is time to speak out. I would suggest to the President that enough is enough and that political patronage in the locating of major Federal installations of this sort should stop. For this reason, I am calling to the attention of the House an excellent editorial from the Cincinnati Enquirer of October 14, entitled "Politics as Usual," telling the sad story of inconvenience, additional expense, and delays that have resulted from a recent decision of the same nature in the southwestern Ohio area relating to the Internal Revenue Service Center. The stakes in the National Environmental Health Center matter are important and the possibility of abuse and loss is even greater.

The editorial follows:

POLITICS AS USUAL

Covington was selected as the site for the Internal Revenue Service's Data Processing Center almost 2 years ago. It was to have become operational in January of this year, and certainly by January 1964.

The hard facts of the matter are that regional processing of returns will begin next January, but only of business returns and in temporary offices in the Alms & Doepke Building in Cincinnati, not in Covington.

The IRS center story here is the story of how the injection of politics into decision-making can mess up administrative operations like a monkey wrench fung into another kind of machinery.

Covington and the Greater Cincinnati area have seen nothing of the \$6 million annual payroll that the IRS Center was to bring. Construction of the Center has not even begun. Covington is to be congratulated on its selection by the White House as the place in which the Center is to be built. But it was a political decision that put the Center there, against the recommendations of the Internal Revenue Service, the Treasury Department, and the Office of Urban Renewal, all of which favored an available site in Cincinnati's Queensgate renewal project.

Can anyone doubt that the White House threw a wrench into the IRS machinery, and that's why no data is being processed here today?

All this is water over the dam, perhaps, but the story is being repeated.

Cincinnati is a logical place for locating the proposed National Environmental Health Center, which is to cost \$60 million and employ 5,000 persons. In fact, original plans called for locating the facility here.

The logic of expanding the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center, where problems of air and water pollution already were being tackled, seemed to prevail. Then, as it did in the matter of the IRS Center, politics once again entered the case. Taft Center and Cincinnati were abandoned by the bureaucrats, and the Washington area became the favored location.

Three times congressional committees have ruled against putting the Environmental Health Center near Washington, but Cincinnati has not reentered the picture. Rumors now put the facility in West Virginia and in North Carolina.

Washington is doing more than ignoring the logic of expanding Taft Center. It is ignoring the logic of concentrating environmental health work in a city where so much of it already is being carried on. Cincinnati, after all, is the home of the Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission, which showed the country the way to clean up streams. It is a leader in air pollution control. Significant research of other kinds is being carried on here.

Politics appears to be overriding logic once again, and once again the cost is delay and

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more delay. The work of cleaning up the environment in which we live—work so vital that the President himself said recently the need for it posed a national crisis—remains undone. It will continue to remain undone for some time to come. The sacrifice of American health is a high price to pay for politics.

B'Nai B'rith's 120th Birthday**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 15, 1963

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on October 13, 1963, B'Nai B'rith—it means "Sons of the Covenant"—celebrated its 120th anniversary. The age of 120 has a very special meaning in Jewish tradition. Moses, by Biblical account, lived that span of years. The scope of its philanthropic ventures from its infancy gave impetus to many civic-minded groups that followed. Among all of our national organizations, only the Masons and Odd Fellows—and these originated outside this country—are older. It is interesting to note that B'Nai B'rith was born before the Grange, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and scores of other groups which are now so very much a part of us.

It is not generally known that B'Nai B'rith organized the first disaster relief for the victims of the Baltimore flood of 1868. It brought into being the famed National Jewish Hospital of Denver and the Leo N. Levi Hospital in Hot Springs, Ark., both nonsectarian, nonfee hospitals. Among other firsts, were B'Nai B'rith's establishment of a free employment bureau in Chicago, and manual and technical schools in Philadelphia and New Orleans. It maintained orphanages and homes for the aged in more than a dozen cities. It mobilized relief drives for victims of the Chicago fire and the San Francisco quake.

B'Nai B'rith was founded by 12 men who contributed \$60 to start a widows' and orphans' fund. Today, B'Nai B'rith will spend more than \$15 million in programs of education, social service, youth activities, vocational counseling, intergroup relations and overseas aid.

Nor is it generally known that in the Civil War, B'Nai B'rith conducted its own recruitment drive and outfitted a Jewish company of 106 soldiers and arranged for the care of their families. The company served in the 82d Illinois Infantry Regiment.

I think that the spirit of B'Nai B'rith is best expressed in a letter which a Brooklyn corporal of Italian origin wrote home to his mother, after he had visited the Hospitality House established in Los Angeles for soldiers on leave, "B'Nai B'rith," he wrote, "is a Jewish name meaning a place to rest."

It is indeed a happy birthday for B'Nai B'rith.

Judgment Day Every Day**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 15, 1963

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a sermon by Edward L. R. Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church, delivered on Sunday, October 6. In my opinion, this will rank as the sermon of the year, and should qualify for the Freedom Foundation Award. I commend it not only for reading, but for careful study and analysis.

The sermon follows:

JUDGMENT DAY, EVERY DAY

The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether—Psalms 19: 9.

Our God is a God of love and grace, of forgiveness and mercy, of truth and righteousness. But the God made known to us in the Bible, who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is also a God of judgment.

He judges us by His word. He judges us by the word become flesh. He judges us by the living word. He judges us in the processes of history.

When you look at life carefully you discover that judgment day is every day. However you define "sin" you must admit that moral judgment is built right into human personality. It is eternally true that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." In the processes of history nations too are judged. According to the Psalmist, "The judgments of the Lord are true and they are righteous altogether."

One of the tragic aspects of our present predicament is the ambiguity of ethical values and the diminishing respect for the moral law. Unless we reestablish a public philosophy based upon the moral law as it has been revealed by the transcendent God, it is the lesson of history that doom awaits us. For all of us who live in the 1960's, judgment day is every day.

Everywhere in our country there are signs of a moral sag. The signs of the times ought to make us aware of the impending judgment of God.

The senior editor of Look magazine, J. Robert Moskin, after a careful national survey, recently wrote:

"We are witnessing the death of the old morality. In our world of masses of people, jet-age travel, nuclear power and fragmented families, conditions are changing so fast that the established moral guidelines have been yanked from our hands.

"No single authority rules our conduct. No church lays down the moral law for all. No tribal customs and taboos define the limits of our immoralities. We are free to be prejudiced or promiscuous, to cheat or chisel. We are left floundering in a money-motivated, sex-obsessed, big-city-dominated society. We must figure out for ourselves how to apply the traditional moral principles to the problems of our times. Many find this burden too heavy."

Samuel Grafton writes about the "Tense Generation" (Look, Aug. 27, 1963) describing a segment of a generation of teenagers from "good" homes who steal, take dope, shock their parents with sexual delinquency, who wage open warfare against society. They are a section of our society who are bored by school, useless to business, and end up as human wastage.

It is not the preachers who are so alarmed about the moral lapse in America. Too many ministers are bogged down in ecclesiastical machinery or their energies are enervated by exclusive preoccupation with only one of our contemporary evils such as racial injustice. It is perceptive laymen like Jenkin Lloyd Jones, editor of the Tulsa Tribune, who are seeing the handwriting on the wall and sounding the alarm—as he did some months ago to the Inland Daily Press Association convention. Mr. Jones said, in part:

"More serious is our collapse of moral standards and the blunting of our capacity for righteous indignation.

"Our Puritan ancestors were preoccupied with sin. They were hag-ridden and guilt-ridden and theirs was a repressed and neurotic society. But they had horsepower. They wrested livings from rocky land, built our earliest colleges, started our literature, caused our industrial revolution, and found time in between to fight the Indians, the French and the British, to bawl for abolition, women suffrage and prison reform, and to experiment with graham crackers and bloomers. They were a tremendous people.

"And for all their exaggerated attention to sin, their philosophy rested on a great granite rock. Man was the master of his soul. You didn't have to be bad. You could and should be better. And if you wanted to escape the eternal fires you'd damned well better be.

"In recent years all this has changed in America. We have decided that sin is largely imaginary. We have become enamored with 'behavioristic psychology.' This holds that a man is a product of his heredity and his environment, and his behavior to a large degree is foreordained by both. He is either a product of a happy combination of genes and chromosomes or an unhappy combination. He moves in an environment that will tend to make him good or that will tend to make him evil. He is just a chip tossed helplessly by forces beyond his control and, therefore, not responsible.

"Well, the theory that misbehavior can be cured by pulling down tenements and erecting in their places elaborate public housing is not holding water. The crime rates continue to rise along with our outlays for social services. We speak of underprivilege. Yet the young men who swagger up and down the streets, boldly flaunting their gang symbols on their black jackets, are far more blessed in creature comforts, opportunities for advancement, and freedom from drudgery than 90 percent of the children of the world. We have sown the dragon's teeth of pseudo-scientific sentimentality, and out of the ground has sprung the legion bearing switch-blade knives and bicycle chains.

"Clearly something is missing. Could it be what the rest of the world's children have been given—the doctrine of individual responsibility?

"Relief is gradually becoming an honorable career in America. It is a pretty fair life, if you have neither conscience nor pride. The politicians will weep over you. The State will give a mother a bonus for her illegitimate children, and if she neglects them sufficiently she can save enough out of her ADC payments to keep herself and her boy friend in wine and gin. Nothing is your fault. (And when the city fathers of a harassed community like Newburgh suggest that able bodied welfare clients might sweep the streets the 'liberal' editorialists arise as one man and denounce them for their cruelty.)

"I don't know how long Americans can stand this erosion of principle.

"Can anyone deny that movies are dirtier than ever? But they don't call it dirt. They call it 'realism.' Why do we let them fool us? Why do we nod owlishly when they tell us that filth is merely a daring art form,

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the towns of Great Barrington and Sheffield all add their share of wastes to the liquid conveyor belt that is the Housatonic.

Already, Hurlbut is conducting an analysis of the Housatonic and the plant's effluent in South Lee, and is preparing to take steps within the next 12 months to limit the load of waste material dumped into the river. In Risingdale, the Rising Paper Co. has complete plans for a disposal plant of its own but is delaying action until the town of Great Barrington decides on its own system. Reportedly there is a good chance that Rising will be able to effect substantial economies both for itself and for the taxpayers by joining the town system, particularly if it is decided to construct two disposal plants, one in Housatonic and one in Great Barrington.

All these programs have been contemplated and discussed for years—more years than most Berkshire residents like to acknowledge—but until lately, they did not go beyond the drawing-board stage. Now, however, the cleanup campaign is picking up force. The day is in sight when the river will attain a state of comparative purity and blessedness. On that day, Crane & Co., the Pittsfield and Dalton municipal governments and the Schweitzer mills will deserve to be honored among the leaders who brought it to pass.

The Competition of Foreign Beef

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 15, 1963

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the problems of foreign imports are causing concern in many industries. A reading of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD indicates that restrictions against our products and conversely a flood of imports into this country are causing us trouble in industry and in our balance of payments. Just within recent months the RECORD has contained many references to the problems in the poultry industry. Textiles and shoes have also been affected as have the steel mills and others. In the Midplains and in other parts of the country there is concern over the continuous increase in the amount of beef imports. In this connection I believe a thought-provoking editorial which was aired over WOW-TV and WOW radio in Omaha is pertinent, and I call it to the attention of our colleagues.

This entire area of imports and restrictions against our exports is one which becomes increasingly serious with each passing week, and I feel very strongly it is a problem which the Congress is going to have to consider again in view of the action taken last year in opening the gates to a flood of foreign imports, based only on hope that similar concessions will be granted by foreign countries.

The editorial referred to follows:

THE COMPETITION OF FOREIGN BEEF, BROADCAST, OCTOBER 10, 1963

Two Nebraskans have spoken out recently about the increased importation of beef and veal, with what they consider depressing effects on the midwestern livestock economy.

In a speech at Ogallala, Nebr., Fred Gilmore, president of the Omaha Union Stockyards Co., said that beef imports, mainly from Australia and New Zealand, are five times what they were 10 years ago. During the first 6 months of 1963, Mr. Gilmore said, they are up 21 percent over a year ago. He added that imported beef adds up to about 9 percent of the domestic production. Further complicating the picture, Mr. Gilmore pointed out, a record 1,250,000 head of livestock on the hoof were brought in from Canada and Mexico in 1962.

ROMAN L. HRUSKA, U.S. Senator from Nebraska, charges that the United States has become "a sort of international dumping ground for meat, particularly beef." Pointing to what he termed a striking relationship, Senator Hruska added that "prices have fallen to near postwar lows, while imports have climbed to record heights."

Most Americans now agree that world trade is vitally important to this country, and that it is, in Mr. Gilmore's language, a two-way street. If we want to sell in the world markets, we must also be prepared to buy.

Thus, the meat importation problem is inseparable from world trade and global diplomacy. We don't pretend to know the answers. We do know that midwestern cattlemen have had a bad year, and we think that increased competition from low-cost producers abroad is one of the reasons for it. Nebraska and Iowa are making progress in developing industry, and moving toward a diversified economy. The fact remains however that prosperity on Farnam Street in Omaha is still largely dependent on the feed lots and ranches.

For all our sakes, we hope the Government will address itself to the solution of the beef importation problem.

Candor Needed on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 15, 1963

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, an important editorial appeared in the New York Times for October 4, 1963, on the subject of Vietnam. The editorial is appropriately entitled "Candor Needed on Vietnam" and it urges that the U.S. Government be more frank with its citizens.

It looks like we may have another case of news management on our hands, but whether we do or don't it seems clear that no government official or administration serves the public well by forgetting that ancient public right known as the "right to know."

CANDOR NEEDED ON VIETNAM

President Kennedy's optimistic appraisal of the course of the war in Vietnam following the return of the McNamara-Taylor mission will be verified or disproved by history. It may abate, but it certainly will not silence criticism.

There are bound to be, in so tangled a situation as that in Vietnam, major differences of opinion not only about what we should do but also about how well or badly we are doing. About one key aspect of the Vietnamese situation, however, there can be no valid disagreement. The war in South Vietnam—no matter how judged—is a long-drawn-out war of attrition, as, indeed, all

counter-guerrilla or counter-insurgency wars are. In any such war, all authorities are agreed, a democratic government, if it is to have hopes of ultimate victory, must have the support of an informed public opinion.

The confusion, cynicism and frustration of the American public about the Vietnamese conflict are by no means solely due to the nature of the Diem regime or its differences with the Buddhists. The public relations policies of both the United States and the Saigon Governments have been, since the beginning, responsible for much of the confusion.

The Diem regime, in common with nearly all Asian governments, operates in an aura of secrecy. Its answer to criticism is more secrecy. But the U.S. Government should be far more frank with its citizens. During the first part of the U.S. military buildup in South Vietnam both our public relations policies and personnel there were lacking in candor. Official policy, as revealed by a House committee, was deliberately restrictive; essential facts were withheld, others distorted. It took some very high-level visits to Vietnam to correct, in part, these initial mistakes.

But, as recent events have shown, the U.S. Government's accounting to its people is still far from frank. Official spokesmen do not hesitate to gild the lily, without providing facts to sustain their statements. The vital statistics of victory or defeat—the numbers of weapons captured and lost by both sides; the defectors from both sides; the casualties, and so on—are still "classified" in Washington. Even the number of U.S. helicopters lost to hostile action in South Vietnam are regarded as "secret," though release of the actual number lost would be a tonic, not a depressant.

The support of public opinion in a war of attrition is vital to victory. The optimistic White House statement of this week will never be verified by history if the Government loses the support of an informed public opinion—as, indeed, it appears to be doing.

Family Portrait: Any Resemblance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 15, 1963

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post of September 21, 1963:

FAMILY PORTRAIT: ANY RESEMBLANCE (By S. L. A. Marshall)

The harder you chew on some problems the larger they become.

It is this way in a family, and things are no different with Government. In fact, the two are sometimes joined. What looks like a political problem is in fact but the larger consequence of a family being so adversely disposed that it wants a monopoly of goodies for itself, which makes other people feel cheated.

The family, we are told, is the cornerstone of all civilization. It's a happy thought. But there are also occasions when it looks more like a large boulder in the center of a freeway. Since that idea may sound positively vulgar, if not blasphemous, let me illustrate.

I am thinking of a particular family in politics which right now is making itself a

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target for popular indignation. It is quite religious, and for this or other equally natural reasons, it is highly prolific.

About the time we think we have finished counting their noses, we hear about one more, for since it is the family disposition to love place, prominence, and power, politics is their inevitable playground, and they all seek to get into the act. We call that nepotism when the habit bobs up in a family of which we disapprove.

The bent in this family is so pronounced as to arouse fear that within a nominally free society, they are trying to install the dynastic principle. All members of the family are extremely active, which is to say that they move about and talk a great deal, not always wisely, so it is said. In this, the distaff side competes actively with the males, which shocks old-fashioned folk who hold that woman's place is in the home.

One of the males is a President. Two brothers are prominent in the wings, and at least one is suspected of a mean ambition to succeed to power. The President was at first hailed as a man of action and decision. He was elected largely because his look and his words implied these virtues. But as time went on, and the cares of office bore down, what men saw of him caused more disappointment than satisfaction.

He could not distinguish between a personally voiced opinion and a decision. There was great social ferment in his country and the seeds of civil strife were everywhere. Some of his programs aimed to ameliorate this condition in fact aggravated it, so people said. What worked in the North didn't seem to work in the South, and vice versa, with the consequence that sectionalism, which is the foe of national unity, became in many ways more pronounced.

The press, which thrives on raw meat, began biting at him. But those who bit did not do so with impunity. They chewed and found themselves excluded from the inner circle. The Government became more and more secretive. Correspondents were cut off from news developments which had no genuine relationship to the national security, simply because the regime was bent on having felicitous things written about itself, or nothing at all.

In this way, the man made enemies where it need not have happened. The right of free press gradually became withered in the name of freedom, without the principal recognizing that he had adopted the technique of authoritarianism.

But the writing people knew it, and those who had been ostracized, instead of holding to criticism which reflected truth, conspired together to even the score. They made up stories traducing him which were 15 percent true and 85 percent imagination.

With some of them it became a vendetta. So grotesque and distorted images of him got into circulation, much to the satisfaction of his political enemies, but to the service of nothing else. Shortly it became impossible for anyone distant from the inner circle to truly know what he was like.

Things had gone too far. There was no way to turn back the clock.

Inevitably his dignity was affronted. His pride but rose the more. So he became careless. When he could not have his way in all things, and his allies did not go along exactly with his formula and methods, he lashed out at other governments and spoke ill of their great men and their policies.

He even did these things when self-evidently there was no likelihood of gain to his own nation, as is generally the case in international dealings. Whatever its size, every nation objects to being beaten with a stick, and the result of trying it is to alienate another people.

To the extent that he was libeled and slandered, it became necessary by those who did it to make his opposition look positively heroic. Nothing was allowed to remain life-

size. Fools became extolled as martyrs and foot-draggers were praised for their light and leading. The political nature of man seems to require this treatment of prominent personages. They must be seen as in the distorting mirror at a penny arcade. For every devil to be blamed, there must stand a saint to be praised.

Because the Communists were at the door of the country, the president was beset by military problems. Strategic and tactical decisions had to be made. It is for this purpose that governments keep admirals and generals on the payroll.

However, the man, being chief of government, too often preferred his own wisdom and cracked the whip when he didn't have hold of the team. The results, rarely fortunate, were in some instances ghastly.

Thus is completed an unfamiliar portrait of President Diem of South Vietnam, with his relatives, the Nhuss, appearing only in the background as if reluctant to move forward, the one part of the picture which isn't true to life. The unveiling is timely only because the subject, having many colors, can't be done justice with a tar brush, no matter how hard we try.

The last line writes itself. It's one of the clichés in this art: Any resemblance to any person living or dead is purely coincidental.

Search for a Purpose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 15, 1963

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wall Street Journal:

SEARCH FOR A PURPOSE

How to counteract the antimanagement bias prevailing in many parts of the world?

This old problem was given fresh attention at a recent international management conference in New York. The burden of much of the discussion was that the free enterprise type of management must develop some higher purpose than the mere making and selling of goods.

For the bias, while nothing new, is perhaps more intense than ever. Particularly virulent in the numerous underdeveloped countries now independent, the prejudice against private management is preventing its development in places where it is most needed. Bureaucratic management, on the other hand, labors under no such handicap.

Part of the trouble, according to Prof. Charles Malik, speaking to the management conference, is that Western nations have erred in trying to pass along to underdeveloped countries merely the form and technique of management without the underlying creative spirit that makes it go; hence no transmission of basic philosophy. As Mr. Malik, a former president of the U.N. General Assembly, put it: "The West can send machines and money, and these are always welcome, but its socioeconomic-political system is not adopted by these lands."

A suggested remedy, offered by David Rockefeller, of the Chase Manhattan Bank, is that business should loan some of its top management men to the developing nations for a time. Paul Hoffman, managing director of the U.N. Special Fund, proposes a vast management training program for the same sort of purpose.

Yet, while the altruism of such efforts might have some effect, it is doubtful that they could alter the basic attitudes that seem to feed the antimanagement bias.

One aspect of the prejudice goes back to its Marxist roots. Mr. Malik observed that Marxist ideas have "remarkably swept all over Asia and Africa. Marxist-Communist habits of thought are widespread, entrenched and relentless in areas where they were totally unknown 10 or 15 years ago."

Given the failures of Communist economics and the success of free enterprise, this seems at first a puzzling phenomenon. It is the result, we think, not only of the zeal of Communist agents. It is also that the leaders of many of these new nations see Marxism as a road to quick development and, probably more important, to personal dictatorial power.

That kind of motivation is pretty hard to combat, no matter what American business managers try to do. The cause of free enterprise is not much helped, either, by our own Government's policies.

While paying frequent lipservice to economic freedom, U.S. officials often show a disturbing tendency to opt in favor of socialism abroad, particularly in the foreign aid program. Even regarding this country, there is a strong antimanagement bias in officialdom, a proneness to believe that the kingdom of heaven can be found only through submitting every human activity to bureaucratic control.

Businessmen themselves are not always without fault; they sometimes waver in understanding their own role. Managers, of all people, should realize there is nothing base or wrong in building refrigerators and tractors. If that is done well, it contributes a great deal to the world.

And here, it seems to us, is the key to the whole question of higher purpose. Management has long since developed its higher purpose; namely, the general welfare which some contend is the exclusive business of Government. Management has done so as a direct and all but inevitable concomitant of its primary purpose of making profits.

A Ford developing his assembly line did more than revolutionize automaking. In pursuit of profitable enterprise he benefited not only his own employees but whole armies of workers in other fields. A Hilton abroad contributes more to real economic growth than some grandiose foreign aid project built for show.

In this country profits have eliminated much poverty, created better working conditions, made possible the vast company insurance and pension programs, supported the Government and, for icing, produced the good works of philanthropy. If all that doesn't add up to a higher purpose, materially and spiritually, it is difficult to say what does.

It is a pity, for the sake of the emerging nations and our own, that these facts are not well understood. It might help counteract the antimanagement bias if businessmen were less defensive about the achievements of free enterprise than they occasionally are. Certainly it would help if the Government were less hostile to the philosophy of freedom in its behavior both at home and abroad.

Local "Gringo Campesinos" Leave Lasting Impression in Colombia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 15, 1963

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend today Mr. and Mrs. Stephen R. Tripp, of Bethesda, Md., for their ex-